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The Oldest and the Newest Empire: Or, China and the United States.

[We take pleasure in presenting some interesting extracts from a work soon to be published, bearing the above title, with the advanced sheets, of which we have been favored. It is by the Rev. Dr. SPERR, formerly Missionary to China, now Corresponding Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Education. This week we give an extract presenting the past and present relations between this country and China. Very soon we will give an instructive and interesting sketch of Chinese Labor. EDS. ENTERPRISE.]

In the heights of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, the Creator has set, in royal majesty, the throne of the sovereigns of the vegetable world. And the feelings with which one stands beneath the mammoth trees resemble those which thrill the mind of a man with awe, and wonder, and pleasure, when he gazes on the cataract of Niagara. There before him, the grandest of living things on earth, is a plant which began to grow with the beginning of that era, defined by the incarnation of the Son of God, by which all Christian nations mark the events of their history. Scores of generations of men and beasts have lived and gone back to their dust since it put forth its first leaves.—Empires have risen, swayed the affairs of continents, and fallen; but it has continued to grow. And now it stands taller than the tallest columns or spires that man has built in the New World, towering in a pyramid of living green, its foundations fixed in the everlasting rocks, its summit crowned by the glittering clouds of heaven.

There is an empire with which we associate naturally such an emblem, the oldest empire in the world. It was planted in the earliest generations, after the renovation of the world and of human history by the Deluge. Assyria, Persia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, have risen and gone; their pride, their wealth, their dominion, all are things of the past. But the Chinese race is still the same, scarcely tinged by the admixture of others. The primeval religion, customs and literature are still vigorous and fresh. Virtuous examples of their own ancestors who lived four thousand years ago encourage the generation of to-day. School-books prepared by a contemporary of the Jewish prophet Daniel are yet the manuals of the teacher of children. The language is the unchanged monosyllables of the infancy of mankind. The social usages are those which have been made familiar to us in the patriarchal pictures of the book of Genesis. We contemplate amidst all the ruins Time has wrought elsewhere, such an empire with constant amazement and curiosity. And when we behold at length a change in the wind of time beginning to blow the seeds of this stupendous ripe tree across the waters, so that they are seen taking root in our new virgin soil, the study of its whole character becomes to us a subject of such interest as has few parallels to it.—We are the newest, as China is the oldest, empire of the world.—Our institutions are but the raw experiments of yesterday. We are only beginning to realize that we have a national life, and that God has formed it for some great commission, the mere alphabet of which we are just learning to stammer.

The nations of the West boast of their greatness; but how paltry they seem in the eyes of an inhabitant of that venerable empire!—And is this pride without foundation? It alone, in Asia—and many Chinese know this—is equal to the whole of either of the other continents of the world in the number of its people. Bewildering as it is to our ideas, there can be no just exception taken to the computation which makes its population amount to the one-fourth of the entire family of man. It stands first of all existing nations in agricultural productiveness, first in some important manufactures, first in the sum of the wealth of its subjects. China, to one who can bring his mind to measure what these statements embrace, seems

almost a world of itself—a world which, like those strange binary stars which revolve about each other and communicate mutual powerful influences, but are each a distinct sun, has moved in all time, strangely connected with, yet separate from, the world of our ancestry and history.

Interesting as China may be to the other nations of the world, it is related to ours and to our continent by ties far closer than to any others. The first and the last find themselves most nearly allied.

There is, first, the bond of interest which is suggested in that most fascinating and romantic subject of inquiry, the origin, history and character of the aboriginal races of the New World. That they were Asiatic no honest and unprejudiced mind, when thoroughly informed upon the subjects which evince it, can doubt. Physical geography, the literature of China, the legends of the American nations, and the records of the Spaniards, all make it as manifest as any great historic question can be which is not a matter of direct testimony.

Then we people of America may be said, in some sense, to owe to China the discovery of our continent by Europeans in the fifteenth century. It is the mere use of a general for a particular appellation which prevented our Indians from being called by us "Chinese." Columbus meant *Chinese*. They were called "Indians," because all Eastern Asia was then called in Europe the "Indias," or "Indies," just as the Arabian and other Mohammedan writers style all the countries east of the Indian Archipelago, the "Chinas." The ambition of Columbus to cross the Western ocean was kindled by Marco Polo's wondrous tales, written two centuries before, of the boundless riches and grandeur of Cathay, Mangru or Mangi, and Cipango. The first of these words is the Mongol name for China Proper; the second is the same with the native name for the Manchou Tartars, who descended from the shores of the ocean to the north of China in the seventeenth century, and yet hold the enviable position of its supreme lords; the third is easily recognized by a Chinese scholar as Jih-pwan ko, "the land of sunrise," which we adopt in our abbreviation "Japan." The doctors of Florence assured Columbus that a voyage of four thousand miles would bring him to China. In the names and productions of the tropical islands which he discovered he endeavored to trace those he found mentioned in the glowing narrative of the Polos. And he died in the belief that he had only found a new path to the empire of China, and that the islands he had visited were upon the coasts of China.

We trace this same high visionary hope in the journals of the succeeding Spanish, English, Portuguese and French discoverers.—The grand prize at which they all aimed was China. Their long voyages, north and south, amidst strange archipelagos, and up rivers and deep arms of the sea, were efforts to push their way through to the Chinese waters.—They set Chinese names on some of the divisions of land or sea, a few of which still remain. They explored vast forests, and underwent astonishing hardships and sufferings, to discover the fountain of immortality, whose waters the Taoist priests of China have for ages pretended to be under their control. There is no more pathetic picture in human history than that of the aged Ponce de Leon, exhausted by wars, self-indulgence and disappointments, fitting out three ships at his own expense, going forth westward in search of the way to the fountain that was to renew the vigor and enjoyment of youth, discovering our Florida, and upon the shore where he expected to find a point of rest and departure, pierced by the arrows of the inhabitants of his farcical paradise, and retreating to the island of Cuba to die.

To tell all that this continent owed in geographical explorations over every portion of it, between the Caribbean sea and the Arctic zone, to the determined and oft-renewed efforts to penetrate barriers which Nature had made vast beyond their supposition at that time, would itself afford a subject worthy of a volume. Even in the last century, the first acquaintance of one of our own race with the new and beautiful State of Minnesota was made in the journey of Carver, one of whose objects, he tells us, in his account of his travels, was to "facilitate the discovery of a north-west passage, or a communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean," and to "promote many useful discoveries," and thus "open a passage for conveying intelligence to China and the English settlements in the East Indies with greater expedition than a tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope."

But all the interest of America to the Chinese based upon these matters of the past is small, very small, compared with that which arises out of those which we witness the beginnings in this our own generation. The discovery of gold on the Pacific coast of North America was the commencement of revolutions in the commerce, the politics, the religions of the world, to which there have been no parallels in all the history of the past.

The subject of Chinese immigration to this continent is one of an importance and interest which language can hardly exaggerate. The reader of history beholds in this contact of the populations of America and China, on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, the termination of that westward course of empire which began in the first periods of the history of man; and in it the completion of one great cycle of the Divine government on earth, and the commencement of another—the glorious and golden age of mankind. The philosophic mind finds abundant material for the profoundest thought in the numerous questions of a political and social nature which arise from the return of the grand current of civilization, transformed by all the changes which so many ages and influences have wrought, and freighted with the spoils of so many lands, to the regions whence it originated; and in considering the results as they will affect the nations which hold that civilization in its oldest and in its newest forms, the chief empire and the chief republic of the world. The patriot must speculate upon the effects of the introduction of a new and boundless supply of productive labor, of mechanical skill and of commercial enterprise, as they shall tend to settle the national embarrassments which have followed our employment of the African race; as they may prove useful in developing the resources of the western portion of the continent, and elevating it to a full level with the eastern portion; and as they may modify our institutions and possibly even our form of government. The Christian must watch with deepest concern the infusion of new, subtle and powerful elements of religious error and forms of vice amidst the more bold and unregulated mind of our nation. And the man who waits for the consolation of the Israel of the latter days must prase God for the new form which his almighty power has given to the immense work of regenerating the continent of Asia, through the multitudes of its people to be brought hither, enlightened with Christianity and returned to it again. Taken in whatsoever aspect we will, the coming of the Chinese to America is excelled in importance by no other event since the discovery of the New World. It is one of the impulses, beyond all human conception or management, by which God is moving the history of mankind onward to its great consummation.

To what this immigration may come, and what its influence upon the future of this nation, upon North America and upon South America, no finite mind can imagine. There are two national elements of the problem. Separated by an ocean whose passage every year becomes more expeditious and cheap, which is hemmed not many degrees distant by a continuous shore-line, along which already an electric telegraph has been partially constructed, lie two vast countries. Each resembles the other in location, contour, climate, and other physical conditions and capacities, more than it does any other of the countries of the earth. Each is occupied by a people naturally thoughtful, earnest, acquisitive and enterprising; each by a people strangely conglomerate, yet strangely homogeneous; each by a people among whom intellect and education constitute the only patent of nobility; each by a people the freest upon its own continent, and governed mainly by rulers of its own election; and each country is now in the travail of a change from old bondage and feebleness to new power, light and influence, which will be felt to the very corners of the earth. But with so much that is alike in these countries, it is easy to group together some respects in which they differ to the farthest extremes. The foundation of the one occurred within the memory of men now living; the other, as has been before remarked, is one of the most ancient, and is the

most permanent, of the empires of the world; which was extensive as Rome when Rome was most extensive, and built the vastest work of human architecture—the Great Wall—for its protection against northern barbarians two thousand one hundred years ago. The one is a country where the utmost advances of scientific knowledge are continually made practical for the development of its wondrous agricultural and mineral wealth; the other exhibits the arts which are necessary to the increase and comfort of man carried to the farthest limit which it is possible for them to reach until the principles of true science, founded on the Christian religion, shall have been infused into them. In the one, labor is scarce, more difficult to obtain and dearer—in the other, it is more abundant and cheaper—than in any other part of the world. A man in China receives but six cents for a day's work, while one in America gets from two to five dollars; and many a good workman in the former country keeps his family for a month, or even for a summer, upon what the family of a workman here would spend in a day. The one is settled only here and there, in the localities most favorable to agriculture, to trade, to manufactures or to health; the other is densely inhabited by a population whose numbers bewilder the mind; a province of its eighteen may contain as many people as the United States, or Great Britain, or France; and the whole of them sustain one-fourth of the human race. Into the immense solitudes of the one, whose only previous occupants were a few scanty, roving, barbarous Indian tribes, immigrants have pressed from all the nations of the world: out of the other are flowing, and have for two centuries flowed, multitudes, which, after they have peopled and renovated, or rendered great benefits to, many countries of Northern and Central Asia, and the numerous great and rich islands within two or three thousand miles of them, have recently begun to cross to the New World, and already number in the United States one-third as many as the total remains of the aboriginal tribes. The knowledge of modern ages in the West, and the introduction of labor-saving machines, will expel myriads from China, as the bees swarm and live in the spring; and any reasonable man who will consider no more than the statements of this paragraph must conclude that attempts to prevent their coming to the New World are as ridiculous and futile as it would be to endeavor to change the laws of Nature, which cause the soil of the mountains to descend into the valleys, or the floods of the rain to force the channel to the sea. The day is coming when many millions of Chinese will be dispersed over the Pacific coast, the Mississippi Valley, the wastes in the northern portion of the continent, the provinces of Mexico and Central America, the whole continent of South America, where already there are several thousands of them, and over all the islands groups or island continents of the Pacific Ocean, whose indolent races are departing, having accomplished their mission to make room for them. To find a place and use for a handful of African slaves, who were brought here in a condition little above the brutes, in the plan of the great temple of civil and religious freedom which the Supreme Governor of the world is rearing upon this continent to be a blessing to all its nations, has cost us an indescribable amount of discussion and trouble, ending in a stupendous and calamitous civil war. An hundred-fold more important is it to understand fully, and to treat with wisdom and justice from the beginning, the race whom He is now bringing to our shores—one so incomparably greater than the negro in numbers, in civilization, in capacity to bestow immense benefits on our land or to inflict upon it evils which may end in its ruin. Our faith in that God and in his word leads us to hope that their coming shall be for good to us and to them.

To present with satisfaction to the reader the new world of interests opened up around the Pacific ocean, it will be also necessary to look beyond the two nations represented in our title, "The Oldest and the Newest Empire," and to take some notice of the changes taking place also in Asiatic Russia, in the countries bordering upon China on the west and south, in other countries besides our own in the New World, and in the numerous fertile islands of the Pacific Ocean, both in the smaller central group and in those which separate it from the Indian Ocean, and which approach continents in magnitude, and in the variety and extent of the product of

their soil and mines. The destiny of these parts of the world, and of the races which inhabit them, is to be decided by the influences that shall proceed from the United States and China.

Address of the Executive Committee of the Union Reform Party to the Voters of South Carolina.

Fellow Citizens—It is made our duty to set forth in this form the claims of the Union Reform Party to your confidence and co-operation, and we ask of you, as our countrymen, children of the State—our common mother—having a common interest and common destiny, a patient hearing and a deliberate and dispassionate judgment. The secession of the States and the sectional war which followed, wrought a revolution in the principles of the Government, and in the rights, powers and relations of the General and State Governments, partly changing their character. The States were shorn of their sovereign attributes, the Union rendered indissoluble, and the powers of the General Government correspondingly enlarged. The people of South Carolina, and those of her sister Southern States as well, accepted amnesty and civil organization in 1865, thus conditioned, and ratified their adhesion to the Government thus changed in its character, by the solemnity of an amended oath of allegiance administered to the voters at the polls, and to all officers upon their qualification. In 1867, the United States inaugurated what is known as the policy of reconstruction, which has resulted in the restoration of South Carolina to the National Union, with a Constitution based upon the principle of universal suffrage. In 1868, the Democratic party arrayed itself against the whole policy of reconstruction, and declared the legislation of Congress upon that subject as "usurpations and unconstitutional, revolutionary and void." Mainly upon this issue the Presidential campaign was fought, and the people of the United States, by overwhelming majorities, sustained the policy of reconstruction. The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, engrafting therein as fundamental law, the principle of universal suffrage, has been proclaimed ratified by the requisite number of States, and is received and acquiesced in as law, in the practice of all the States of the Union. In the meantime, the people of South Carolina find themselves in this condition. With universal suffrage prevailing, two races compose the people entrusted with the franchise. Circumstances and the machinations of selfish and corrupt political adventurers, have created an antagonism between the races, and arrayed, practically, the whole of the one race in political hostility to the whole of the other race. Nearly the entire landed property and other capital of the State are in the hands of the white race, and the power of the Government is controlled by the colored, which furnishes the chief labor of the country. Property is the source of life to the State. From it the proprietor and the laborer alike derive sustenance. When property is made productive, wealth is increased, labor enhanced, employments multiplied, the country prospers, and the people are happy. To secure these results, co-operation between labor and capital is essential.—The laborer and the capitalist are, in effect, copartners, who divide among them, in proper proportions, the products of the joint business. Legislation, after securing the mere personal rights of the citizen, has no other legitimate office than so to foster and conserve the rights of property, that the whole people may prosper.—It is evident, therefore, that this antagonism of races is unnatural, unwise, and deplorably injurious and ruinous, in its consequences, to both. Under the industrious manipulations of this unhappy antagonism it, the people are burthened and beggared, while they grow fat upon the means wrung from the hard-earned products of the capital and labor of the citizen.—Not content, however, with the exclusive enjoyment of multiplied salaries, fixed at a rate of compensation unprecedented in extravagance, these wicked rulers have plunged into the wildest, most reckless, and most corrupt profligacy, pecculation and fraud, in their dealings with the people's money. Let the record speak: Taxes, year ending September 30, 1866, \$591,799.55. Taxes, year ending October 31, 1866, \$419,668.72—not including interest on debt. Taxes, year ending

October 31, 1868, \$1,268,259.09. County Tax for 1869, \$501,097.52.

Reflect that this rapid increase of taxation has been enforced upon a people struggling for the necessities of life—with two-thirds of their property destroyed by war—much of what was left producing nothing, and all of the accumulated capital of the State destroyed—the income of the people probably not attaining one-third the amount of the year 1860.

Total payments, current expenses, etc., year ending September 30, 1866, \$549,251.09. Year ending October 31, 1866, \$266,248.04—exclusive of interest on debt not paid. Year ending October 31, 1869, \$1,103,372.20.—Comptroller's report, pp. 77.

Bear in mind in this connection, that jurors, constables, and many other expenses paid by the State in 1860, are now paid by the counties, and the public treasury thus relieved of a very heavy amount; and that an examination of the conduct of the County Commissioners in many instances would show the same profligacy in raising and expending money—where thousands have been extorted from the people by false estimates and assessments, and not one hour of labor bestowed upon the public highways, and scarce a dollar to any county improvement.

Shall we look for a high motive to justify such increase of taxation upon a people so ground down by poverty as our's? Shall we find the public debt greatly reduced, or the public assets greatly increased in the hands of these reckless financiers? Let us see:

Public debt, September 30, 1860, \$4,046,540.16. November 27, 1866, by Governor Orr's message, principal and interest, excluding war debt, \$5,205,227.74, or by Comptroller's report, excluding war debt, \$4,426,446.46. October 31, 1869, Comptroller's report, \$6,183,349.17.

For a people whose ability to pay was so reduced, it would seem that this was a sufficiently reckless increase of debt to induce a call for a strict accounting, but as usually is the case with defaulters, the result is worse than their *ex parte* showing. Items are excluded from this account, properly belonging to it, which present a fearful condition, and demonstrate that unless this wanton profligacy and waste be checked, the people of this State, white and colored, are to be reduced to endless slavery, or be released only by repudiation. Thus:

The Comptroller reports the debt, October 31, 1869, \$6,183,349.17. Add Blue Ridge Railroad bonds, which the State is responsible for, and from which, able, disinterested and honest management would scarce extricate her, \$4,000,000.00. Bonds issued to Land Commission, \$700,000.00; bonds issued to redeem bills Bank of State, \$1,250,000.00; bonds pawned by the Financial State Agent, \$2,700,000.00. Total, \$14,833,349.17.

Now what value have the people for all this expenditure? Shall we be pointed to the fruits of the Land Commission? Where are they? Who knows of any benefit to the poor and worthy in this great "land to the landless" scheme? Who does not know, spite of their efforts at concealment, that the funds entrusted to this Commission have been used, only to swell the ill-gotten gains of the administration and its friends? Within the observation of almost every one, poor tracts of land have been bought at immense prices, and so far as this committee have been able to learn, with no eye to the benefit of those whom this scheme was professedly intended to provide with land and homes.

With the partial exposures already made, the administration party, consisting largely of individuals holding four or five party offices each, acknowledges that reform is needed, but insists that they must carry on the reform; that this *reform* must be the nursing mother of our lamb. If their repentance is sincere, they should pray to be delivered from temptation, not to be forced to hold watch and ward over the tempting Treasury.

Let us see how the increased receipts of the Treasury have been, and are to be expended: Salaries, 1867, \$50,000; 1870, \$167,800. Contingent funds, 1867, \$25,000; 1870, \$34,300. Legislative expenses, 1867, \$43,000; 1870, \$144,790. Educational and military, 1867, \$36,000; 1870, \$125,000; extraordinary expenses, \$140,000.

These are a few items from official sources, indicating the sufferings of our people, the faithlessness of the unjust stewards, who have gained control and disposi-

tion of the affairs of the State.—But this is not all—in many of the Counties, the County offices and County funds are held by individuals irresponsible and notoriously corrupt, and disposed of for the same illegitimate purposes. Add to this, that large monopolies are passed the Legislature through the medium of open and notorious bribery; that franchises are seldom obtained but by private purchase or for corrupt and fraudulent ends; that the commonest acts of justice, requiring legislation must pay their passage; that voted members of the Legislature are bought and sold as merchandise; that public officers prostitute their positions and even the legislation of the State to the purposes of stock-jobbing and speculation; that so stupendous a fraud is perpetrated as that whereby the Land Commission, aided by the Advisory Board, of which the Governor of the State is the official head, acquired \$90,000 of the public money in a single transaction; and, above all, that the administration of the State has not dragged to light and to punishment even one of their infamous band, and say where, in all the catalogue of iniquity which disgraces the history of fallen humanity, can be found a parallel to this picture, faintly but faithfully delineated? This carnival of vice and corruption flowing from that Pandemonium of ruin and disgrace into which the antagonism of races has converted the Government of South Carolina. The question for you to decide is: Shall these things continue so to be? Is no effort to be made to rescue from utter ruin the vast materials of wealth and prosperity yet remaining, which require only good government to make you a great and happy people? Will you continue to be the slaves, the hewers of wood and drawers of water of this abominable faction of plunderers, who are sustained by your divisions? If not, how then will you achieve your emancipation? It is evident that one of two things must be done. Either, first, universal suffrage must be abolished; or, second, the absolute and sharp antagonism of the races must be so far removed as to enable the good people of both to combine for the purposes of good government. Let us examine these alternatives in their order. First: Shall we undertake to abolish universal suffrage? Where is the hope of success? The principle of universal suffrage constitutes the basis of democratic republicanism throughout the world. It is the cornerstone of all existing governments in the Southern States. The American Democracy in 1868 warred not against the principle, but contended only for the right of the States to control it. The strongest Democratic States of the Union have incorporated it into their practice and their laws.—The American people, in their last Presidential election, by large majorities, pledged themselves to maintain it in the South. The fifteenth amendment, prohibiting its abridgement by the United States or any of the States, has assumed the form of law, and is sustained and enforced by the General Government, with all its power, by the enactment of the strongest legal sanctions. The Executive, the Judiciary, and the people of the country, are well known to be in harmony with the measure. No party has raised the standard of revolution or repeal. Where, then, shall the crusade against a principle thus fortified, begin? Let him who will, undertake the task, we push the argument to his own conclusion, and meet him there.

Assume that the technical exceptions to the fifteenth amendment should be sustained; that the Supreme Court of the United States should declare the Reconstruction Acts unconstitutional and void; that the next President and the Congress to be elected with him, representing any majority possible of the American people, would undertake to reorganize these States and to wrest the suffrage from the colored race; does any man doubt that the whole country would then blaze with the fires of a civil war, fierce, bitter, bloody and protracted? What, in that case, would be our condition? Imagination shrinks from the conception; reason recoils from its contemplation, and horrified humanity revolts from the spectacle—a deluge of blood, succeeded by an unbroken reign of ruin and desolation. We cannot tell what may be the purposes of the Ruler of the universe concerning this question, but as far as the light of human reason may guide us, it seems evident that the world is to pass under the rule of the people in